Indian Subcontinent

combination of men-at-arms and archers—which would prove so effective in France.

Once again, however, Scotland managed to find effective leadership in its hour of need, this time in the person of Andrew Murray, son of the Scottish leader at Stirling Bridge in 1297. As guardian, Murray defeated David de Strathbogie, earl of Atholl, a leading member of the Disinherited, at Culblean in Deeside on 30 November 1335 and re-established effective guerrilla tactics to force the invaders back. By 1337, Balliol had an administration in name only and the Disinherited controlled only parts of the south-west. Equally importantly, and despite a series of English campaigns up until 1338, Edward III was now being drawn into a full-blown war with France. Scottish success was crowned by the return of 17-year-old David Bruce in 1341.

But, as with the post-Bannockburn era, the war was not yet officially over and King David felt impelled, partly out of gratitude to France and partly to secure an admission of his kingship from Edward III, to raid the north of England. On one such raid on 17 October 1346, he was captured at Neville's Cross in County Durham. He remained an English prisoner until October 1357, but at least the negotiations that resulted in his release also recognized him as king of Scots, one year after Edward Balliol finally gave up his claims.

The wars had finally staggered to an end, but at some considerable cost, both in economic terms and, more enduringly, in the depth of the bitter enmity that now characterized the relationship between Scotland and England. The *Borders became effectively a war zone for centuries thereafter, even without the excuse provided by sporadic official invasions. The Scots had forged a firm *national identity for themselves out of the crucible of war, while England had refined its already impressive military machine. Equally importantly, the propaganda and myth-making which had played such a vital role in sustaining the war, especially on behalf of King Robert I, became indistinguishable from fact in both official and popular history. It is impossible to deny the importance of the Wars of Independence to Scotland's history (see HISTORIANS: 1), just as it is difficult to envisage how the country might have developed if it had not taken place. However, while the period has provided heroes and villains aplenty, the reality is far more complex. (See also ANGLO-SCOTTISH RELATIONS: 2; ARMY: 1; KINGSHIP: 3–4; WARFARE, WEAPONS, AND FORTIFICATIONS: 1.) FW

Indian subcontinent. Food, clothing, and many other aspects of Scottish lifestyles have been influenced by the centuries-old relationship between India and Scotland. Many of the clothes that Scots wear today are not merely based on Indian styles but often, as in the 18th century, they are manufactured in the Indian subcontinent and brought here by the collaborative efforts of Indian and British traders. The very first merchants to do this, in bulk, were members of the EIC, founded in 1601. The EIC based its operations in London, but Scots merchants and seamen played their part, especially following an unsuccessful attempt to set up a rival organization based in Edinburgh in 1695. The Scottish Africa and India Company, as it was called, was founded by Sir William Paterson and raised the enormous sum of £400,000 by public subscription in Scotland. All of this was eventually lost after vigorous lobbying against the company by the EIC in London and an ill-conceived attempt to found a colony at *Darien in the isthmus of Panama, and thereby pioneer a new route to India. When attacked by Spain, King William of Orange refused assistance (fearful of a possible alliance between Spain and France), and the defeated and disease-ridden settlement was subsequently abandoned with the loss of 2,000 lives, fuelling anti-English feeling in Scotland. The Scottish Company itself limped on but was virtually bankrupt by 1706.

Amongst the earliest Scots adventurers in India at the service of the EIC was Alexander Hamilton, who sailed east on the merchant ship *The Shrewsbury* in 1688. Hamilton subsequently published one of the earliest available accounts of life in the British bases at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. Amongst the soldiers, Sir Hector Munro was most prominent in the 18th century, commanding a force which defeated the Mughal army in the important battle of Buxar in 1764. In later years Scots came to play a still more important role in the EIC, and in India, when the activities of the EIC were brought under the supervision of parliament. It was Henry *Dundas, Solicitor-General and Lord Advocate under Prime Minister William Pitt and the first Secretary of State for India, who introduced the legislation that made this possible in 1783. Under his patronage growing numbers of Scots became involved in managing the Indian territories in the EIC's service from the 1780s onwards.

The number of Scots who served in India was disproportionate to their numbers. The reasons why so many Scots went to India are complex. Scots regiments were of course always favoured by the British *army, especially when service was needed in difficult conditions and for long periods abroad. The Scottish middle classes also found employment in the empire in large numbers, partly for lack of opportunities at home, but partly also due to the quality of the Scottish educational system, with *universities such as Edinburgh and St Andrews turning out large numbers of talented, adventurous, and highly qualified young graduates each year, for whom Calcutta or Lahore seemed no less remote or appealing a destination than London. The dissenting, radical tradition within Scottish society produced many of the more humane and popular administrators and officials within the *British Empire. The Scots middle classes were also great promoters of missionary work (see MISSIONS OVERSEAS) and of liberal causes, such as the abolition of slavery. Thus the City Fathers of Edinburgh indicated their support for one inveterate Indian campaigner against slavery, the Bengali businessman Dwarkanath Tagore (grandfather of the great Nobel-prize winning Indian patriot Rabindranath Tagore), by awarding him the freedom of the City, a considerable honour in those days (he also had an audience with the queen at Holyrood), when Tagore paid a visit to Edinburgh in 1842.

The names of John Malcolm, Mountstuart Elphinstone (governor of Bombay from 1819 to 1827), and Thomas Munro are among the best-known liberal administrators who shaped the Empire in India in its earliest years, the last developing the important *ryotwari* or peasant-based system of land revenue settlement, beginning in Madras and soon spreading to other parts of India. All were influenced by the Orientalist school who pioneered the study of Indian arts, sciences, and cultures in Britain. One of the more famous Orientalists in Scotland was Sir William Robertson, principal of Edinburgh University from 1762 to 1793, who wrote one of the first serious studies of India in the English language (see HISTORIANS: 3). In it he ranked Indian civilization alongside those of ancient Greece and Egypt and warned against European interference (an idea later on vigorously contested by those whose material interests urged a different point of view). It is no surprise that, in the wake of this tradition, Edinburgh University founded one of the very first centres in the UK for the study of Sanskrit, the ancient Indian language, and soon after the very first Indian Students Association for the benefit of Indian students studying in Scotland. In parallel, the efforts of Alexander Duff, sent as a minister to Calcutta by the Church of Scotland in 1829, helped establish the first western-style universities and colleges, supported by government grant, in Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras.

For the most part, British rule in India in the 19th century was a matter of governance for its own sake, at minimum cost and at maximum profit, but there were still many Scots who contributed to Scottish–Indian relations, some for better, some for worse, and who are remembered to this day—not least the 8 out of the 38 Indian viceroys and governor-generals between 1774 and 1947 who were of Scottish origin. The first of these was Gilbert Elliott, later first earl of Minto, who became governor-general in 1807. He was soon followed by James Ramsay, first marquess of Dalhousie, who was governor-general between 1847 and 1856 in the fateful years leading up to the great Indian uprising of 1857. Sir Colin Campbell, the son of a Glasgow carpenter and hero of the Crimean war, led the army of 20,000 that helped suppress the insurrection. Soon after, the EIC was wound up and India came directly under the control of the British crown. The earl of Dufferin (1884–8) was one of the more successful viceroys, or queen's representatives, in India that followed, governing at a time of relative stability and growth. Both the seventh and ninth earls of Elgin, James and Victor Bruce, subsequently served as viceroy. The last Scot to hold this highest of all public offices was Lord Linlithgow, who as viceroy from 1936 to 1943 played an important role in the transition to Independence. Linlithgow oversaw the cabinet mission of 1942 and the suppression of Mahatma Gandhi's great 'Quit India' campaign in that same year. Most unfortunately, it is said, his inadequate response to the famine in Bengal in 1943 (which cost the lives of some 3 million Indians), fuelled anti-British feeling and added to the climate of resistance that precipitated the final British withdrawal in 1947.

In a more constructive fashion, Scots helped to build railways and canals, worked through town planning and medical provision to improve the quality of life in India's burgeoning cities, and pioneered the development of the tea and coffee plantations. Jardine Matheson was one of the most important tea traders, as well as dealing in banking, insurance, and the supply of opium to the Far East in the early 19th century. Later traders and founders of tea plantations in India and Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) included James Finlay of Glasgow and Thomas *Lipton. Liptons Limited became the world's largest tea company by the end of the 19th century. Both of these firms continue trading to this day. Among the more important Calcutta-based commodity trading firms was Andrew Yule & Co, one of fourteen firms run by Scots in Calcutta by 1813. Also to be mentioned are Patrick Geddes, the architect and botanist; Colonel Richard Baird Smith, the canal builder; and finally the great mill owners from Dundee, such as Thomas Duff & Co., who established Calcutta's jute industry, and made *Dundee and Calcutta the world's principal producers of this indispensable commodity, used in sacking, rope, carpet making, and many other products. Dundee owes its size and prosperity until modern times almost entirely to this one commodity. Likewise, *Glasgow largely owed its prosperity until recent times to the benefits of imperial trade.

Culturally, there is no limit to the contribution that India has made to Scottish life. Echoes of Mughal designs are to be seen in Scottish architecture (see ARCHITECTURAL STYLES AND FEATURES), Indian peppers and spices abound in Scottish foods, and the *Scots language is filled with words, such as pyjama, bungalow, thug, shampoo, juggernaut, and 'peely-wally', all imported from the Indian subcontinent—often by servicemen. Chinaware too, first imported by the EIC, its technique and design then copied by 19th-century British manufacturers, is to be found today in every home. Importantly, hundreds of thousands of Indian troops served the EIC and the British crown as mercenaries, or sepoys, in the British army in India throughout the colonial period, and on the side of the British in Europe and north Africa during the First and Second World Wars. Finally, both before and since Indian independence in 1947, tens of thousands of Muslim, Sikh, and Hindu migrants from the Indian subcontinent contributed, and continue to contribute, disproportionately to the prosperity and cultural diversity of Scotland. It is a relationship which has endured, and whilst at times traumatic, it is something for which future generations will continue to have reasons to be grateful. CB

Iona, an island off the south-west coast of Mull (Argyll), was the principal monastery of St *Columba (521–97), whose name is preserved in the island's Gaelic name, I Chaluim Chille. An abbey and nunnery established *c.*1200 remained the principal religious houses of the *Isles until the Reformation.

Iona measures 3.4 miles (5.5 km) by 1.5 miles (2.5 km), and the highest summit, Dùn I, is 330 feet (100 m) high. It is composed of Lewisian gneiss, with Torridonian flagstone along the east shore. Much of the surface is moorland, with steep-sided gullies providing grazing for cattle. The coast combines cliffs or rocks with bays of white shell-sand. This sand created an area of machair on the western Atlantic shore, with abundant seaweed for manure. The *campulus occidentalis* (little western plain) was cultivated by the monks, and Columba's biographer St *Adomnán recorded a procession with relics of the saint to end a drought *c.*680. Later agriculture favoured the glacial soils of the eastern plain, which has always been the main centre of population.

The view from Dùn I, where Columba came to meditate, encompasses the Argyll mainland and the Hebrides from Islay to Rum. Adomnán depicts a local hierarchy of dependent monasteries, hermitages, and penitential stations, corresponding to the variety of enclosed sites in the area. Columban asceticism, with its search for 'a desert in the ocean', as Adomnán put it, defended the margins of the Christian world against unknown forces of the ocean. The saint is also portrayed meditating at 'a remote place' overlooking Tiree, and on 'the little hill of the angels', a natural mound at Sithean beside the machair.

Columba's landing-place in 563 is traditionally identified as Port na Curaich at the south end, where pebble-cairns suggest ancient pilgrimage. The monastery was on the eastern plain, where the Lochan Mór fed Sruth a'Mhuilinn (the mill stream). The medieval abbey stands at the centre of a 20 acre (8 hectare) enclosure formed by the *vallum monasterii* (rampart of the monastery), preserved on the west as a ditch and earthen bank. Elsewhere, aerial and geophysical survey and excavation reveal overlapping ditches and extensive occupation-deposits. This complexity reflects the expansion of Columba's settlement into one of the greatest Irish monasteries, and subdivision for diverse religious and domestic functions. A ditch north of Reilig Odhráin can be ascribed to the period of Columba's death in 597, since peat began to form early in the following century.

Literary evidence that timber was the normal building material is confirmed by excavated beam-slots and post-holes. Adomnán mentions religious, domestic, craft, and agricultural structures, as well as open areas. During his abbacy (679–704) timber was imported from the mainland for large communal buildings. A circular post-hole structure may have been one of these. The principal church may lie under the medieval abbey, for the space to the west was a liturgical focus marked by 8th-century crosses. It is overlooked by Tòrr an Aba, a rocky outcrop with traces of a cell, perhaps the little hill from which the dying Columba blessed his monastery. A tiny rebuilt chapel beside St John's Cross, resembling the smallest Irish churches, marks the traditional place of Columba's burial, from which his remains were enshrined in the 8th century. The present burial ground, Reilig Odhráin, appears to be a later development, and was probably from the first an aristocratic and royal graveyard, whereas the monks' cemetery lay nearer the church.

Adomnán describes crafts including writing and metalworking, and excavation has revealed 7th-century carpentry, bowl-turning, and leather working. Crucibles, moulds, and glass fragments indicate metal- and glass-working in the 8th century, with one mould bearing a pattern of interlocking circles found in the Book of Kells.

The most prominent survivals of the monastery are the high crosses, part of a collection of over one hundred pre-12th-century carved stones. These epitomize the twin aspects of Columban monasticism: ascetic humility contrasting with spiritual and political power. Over half are pillars and slabs

bearing simple linear or outline crosses of types found along the Atlantic coasts of Britain and Ireland. Few are inscribed, for personal commemoration was unimportant. One 7th-century gravemarker, inscribed *Lapis Echodi* (the stone of Echoid), bears an elegant Chi-rho cross. Large recumbent graveslabs with ringed crosses of 8th century or later date are paralleled in major Irish monasteries (see MONUMENTS: 1).

The erection of timber crosses began in Columba's lifetime and large stone ones appear on Iona and Islay in the 8th century. Like the Book of Kells, they probably marked the enshrinement and developing cult of Columba. They used carpentry joints, but rich spiral and snake-and-boss ornaments link them with the manuscript and with masterpieces of 'Irish' metalwork, including shrine fragments from Viking graves. Their figure sculpture shows a range of biblical subjects. The iconic Virgin and Child on three crosses recall the Kells miniature and the hymn to Mary by the Iona monk Cú-chuimne (d. 747). St John's Cross, with double-curved arms like Northumbrian crosses, has the widest span in these islands and may have been the first ringed cross.

Repeated Viking attacks between 795 and 825 led to Iona's replacement by Kells (Co. Meath) and Dunkeld (Perthshire) as head of the Columban monasteries, but the community survived. St Matthew's Cross shows an Adam and Eve scene resembling one on a cross of *c.*900 at Kells. The island was venerated by Norse Christians, and in 980 Olaf Sihtricsson (Amlaíb Cuarán), king of Dublin, retired there 'in penitence and pilgrimage'. Not long afterwards the runic inscription on a graveslab of Irish type named Fukl and Kali, sons of Olvir.

One of the community's officials in 1164 was the 'head of the hermitage', probably based at Cladh an Dìsirt north of the monastery. St Oran's chapel was built or refurbished at this period, perhaps as a mortuary chapel for the family of Somerled (d. 1164). About 1200 his son Reginald founded the Benedictine abbey of St Columba and an Augustinian nunnery, with his sister Bethoc as prioress. Many of their early inmates were probably Irish, and their architecture shows similar influences. The Romanesque nunnery church is preserved, but this style is seen at the abbey only in the north transept. The eastern limb was extended as a two-level choir in the 13th-century, when the claustral buildings were completed. Major rebuilding was begun *c.*1450 by a local school of masons who for a century had been creating elaborate crosses, effigies, and graveslabs in a distinctive style. Some of the finest were commissioned by MacKinnon chiefs and clerics, who provided several abbots before that office was granted to the bishop of the Isles in 1499. Both communities remained active until the *Reformation, although the school of carving ended *c.*1500 and the effigy of prioress Anna Maclean (d.1543) is by an Oronsay sculptor.

In 1635 Charles I ordered an Exchequer grant for the restoration of the abbey church as cathedral of the Isles. The choir was retained with the transepts as antechapel and the bells were recast in the Netherlands in 1638, the year when the bishops were deposed and work ended. Thereafter the monuments on Iona remained picturesque ruins viewed by increasing numbers of visitors until 1899, when the eighth duke of Argyll transferred them to trustees under obligation to restore the abbey church for worship. This was completed in 1910, and the monastic buildings were restored by George *MacLeod's Iona Community in 1938–65. IF

Ireland: 1. to 1100; 2. 1100–1650; 3. since 1650.

1. to 1100

It need hardly be stated that Ireland and Scotland had a close relationship in the early Middle Ages, given that it was the conquest of eastern Scotland by a dynasty of Gaels (*Scoti*) which ultimately led to the transfer, in common contemporary usage, of Scotia from meaning Ireland to meaning Scotland. In cultural and linguistic terms, it seems clear that the conquest had produced a situation such that, in the 11th century, the secular and intellectual elite of both regions largely participated in the same language and poetic tastes. That said, we must recognize changes over the centuries in each region, and acknowledge that the relationship between the two was not a constant one.

Recent research has called into question the long-accepted idea that the *Gaelic language and the Gaels came into western Scotland by conquest and settlement. Certainly the archaeological evidence for this is thin, but there is nonetheless some reason to think of political change, if not cultural and linguistic, in the period around 500, the date traditionally assigned to the arrival of Fergus Mór mac Eirc. This origin legend, however, need only imply a reorientation of the polity of *Dál Riata, incorporating as it may have done by the 6th century, territory in Argyll and Antrim. It should be noted, however, that the term Dál Riata is not found until rather later, in reference to Argyll. Nonetheless, by the latter part of the 6th century, Argyll was populated by Gaels, and most of them seem to have acknowledged the overlordship of members of the Cenél nGabráin of Kintyre. This dynasty retained interests in Ireland, as witnessed by Domnall Brecc's disastrous participation in the battle of Mag Rath in 637. And there is strong likelihood, with some later evidence in its support, that this dynasty